

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 VIENNA 8760

LIMDIS/MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: NBFR NEGOTIATIONS: NATO AD HOC GROUP

MEETING OF 23 OCTOBER 1973

BEGIN SUMMARY: NATO AHG MET 23 OCTOBER UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF DANISH ACTING REP (KORSGAARD-PEDERSON). BELGIUM ACTING REP (WILLOT) REPORTED THAT CHANCELLOR KREISKY WANTED TO GIVE WELCOMING RECEPTION ON 8 NOVEMBER. NO NEW BILATERALS WERE REPORTED. REPORT OF CHAIRMAN OF AHG FOR WEEK OF 15-19 OCTOBER WAS APPROVED. AHG DISCUSSED DATA TO BE USED IN NEGOTIATIONS AND WITH THE PRESS, AND BEGAN DISCUSSING PROCEDURES AND SUBSTANCE OF THEMES TO BE DEVELOPED IN NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF OPENING STATEMENTS. END SUMMARY.

1. ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS. BELGIUM ACTING REP REPORTED THAT AUSTRIANS HAD INFORMED HIM THAT CHANCELLOR KREISKY WANTED TO GIVE WELCOMING RECEPTION FOR CONFERENCE HIMSELF BUT THAT HE WOULD BE UNABLE TO GIVE RECEPTION ON 30 OCTOBER AND WANTED TO GIVE IT 8

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NOVEMBER AFTER HE HAD RETURNED FROM TRIP OUTSIDE COUNTRY.

2. BILATERALS. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) REPORTED THAT SOVIET EMBASSY OFFICIAL IN A RECENT CALL AT CANADIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD EXPRESSED HOPE THAT MIDDLE-EAST SITUATION WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS. CANADIAN REP ADDED THAT THIS WAS CLEARLY MAIN PURPOSE OF SOVIET VISIT AND ASKED WHETHER OTHER ALLIED CAPTIALS HAD HAD SIMILAR DEMARCHES FROM SOVIETS. NO MEMBER OF AHG HAD ANYTHING TO REPORT.

3. WEEKLY REPORT OF CHAIRMAN OF AHG. FRG REP (BEHREND) SUGGESTED TWO CHANGES TO DRAFT REPORT FOR WEEK OF 15-19 OCTOBER. HE WANTED TO REVISE REPORT TO REFLECT THAT IT HAD BEEN FINALLY SETTLED IN UN THAT FRG WOULD BE ALPHABETICALLY LISTED AND DESCRIBED ON NAME PLATES AS "GERMANY, FEDERAL REPORT OF" AND THAT FRG WANTED THIS PRACTICE TO BE USED IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS.

4. OPENING STATEMENTS. GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) SUBMITTED FINAL COPY OF GREEK OPENING STATEMENT, WHICH CONTAINED NO CHANGES FROM VERSION PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED BY AHG.

5. DATA. FRG REP DISTRIBUTED EXCERPTS FROM 1971/72 FRG WHITE PAPER OF DECEMBER 7, 1971 (SEPTEL). IN INTRODUCING PAPER, HE SAID PAPER WAS DISTRIBUTED AS RESULT OF HIS OFFER IN AHG ON 17 OCTOBER (VIENNA 8580, PARA 7) TO PROVIDE NATIONAL STATEMENT CONTAINING PUBLICLY RELEASED FIGURES WHICH MIGHT BE USED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESS AND PUBLIC. HE NOTED THAT FIGURES IN PAPER WERE OUTDATED AND SAID THAT NEW WHITE PAER WITH UPDATED FIGURES WOULD BE PUBLISHED IN JANUARY 1974. HE FUTHRE STATED THAT COMPARATIVE NATO/PCT FIGURES IN JANUARY WHITE PAPER WOULD BE IN ACCORD WITH DATA BASE EXPECTED TO BE AVAILABLE FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN NOVEMBER. HE NOTED THAT NATO REGIONAL FIGURES WENT BEYOND NGA SINCE DENMARK WAS ALSO INCLUDED. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT FIGURES FOR BUNDESWEHR WOULD HAVE TO BE UPDATED. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, FRG REP NOTED THAT PAPER WAS BEING DISTRIBUTED ONLY FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES AND NOT FOR DISCUSSION. HE SAID FRG WOULD USE FIGURES IN PAPER FOR NATIONAL PRESS BRIEFINGS AND WOULD SAY THAT FIGURES WERE SLIGHTLY OUT OF DATE.

6. US REP DISTRIBUTED TWO PAPERS RELEVANT TO DATA. FIRST PAPER WAS MEMORANDUM ON MANPOWER OF PCT GROUND FORCES IN NGA, CONTAINED STATE 207385. US REP EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR AHG TO KNOW WHAT NATO WAS ADDRESSING AND HOW DATA HAD CHANGED. BY WAY OF

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BACKGROUND, HE NOTED THAT US HAD UNDERTAKEN FOLLOW-ON STUDY OF DATA ON PACT FORCES IN NGA AND THAT MEMORANDUM CONTAINED RESULTS OF STUDY WHICH WE HAD PROMISED UPON COMPLETION. HE FURTHER STATED THAT MEMORANDUM REFLECTED UPWARD REVISION OF SOVIET FORCES IN NGA FROM 450,000 TO 460,000. HE NOTED THAT ONLY TO SOME EXTNET WAS INCREASE BASED ON CHANGE IN MANNING OF UNITS.

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LIMDIS/MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. US REP STATED THAT US BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT TO HAVE UNIFORM SET OF DATA TO USE WITH PRESS AND IN NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR THAT REASON US HOPED THERE WOULD BE REPID AGREEMENT ON DATA IN NATO MBFR WG. HE FURTHER STATED THAT US DID NOT BELIEVE REVISION OF DATA NECESSITATED ANY CHANGE IN DESIGN FOR PHASE I AND PHASE II, ALTHOUGH THERE WOULD BE MORE DISPARITY FOR PHASE II REDUCTIONS.

8. US REP NOTED THAT THER MIGHT BE FURTHER CHANGES TO DATA IN FUTURE. HE ADDED THAT DATA ON MANPOWER IS DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE AND THAT WHEN IN DOUBT IT WAS BETTER TO USE HIGHER ESTIMATE ON SOVIET FORCES.

9. US REP ALSO DISTRIBUTED SHEET (SEPTTEL) WHICH COMPARED (1) US DATA IN 27 JULY PAPER AND MOST RECENT US DATA AND (2) US DATA AND DATA EXTRACTED FROM DOCUMENTS FROM NATO MBFR WG WORKING DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO IN AN AGH ON 22 OCTOBER BY MILCOM RPE (SMITH) AND BELGIUM DEP REP (US DEL OBTAINED COPY FROM WILLOT), AS WELL AS SUMMARY DATA ON SOVIET FORCES FROM NATO TOE/OB CONFERENCE

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(MC224). US REP OBSERVED THAT THERE WERE DIFFERENCED BETWEEN US AND WG DATA ON NATO FORCES BUT THAT WE WERE UNABLE TO EXPLAIN THESE BECAUSE OF FORMAT OF WG PAPER. HE ALSO NOTED THAT FRENCH FORCES WERE NOT INCLUDED IN WG DATA BUT WERE IN US DATA.

10. UK REP NOTED THAT NATO MBFR WG FIGURE FOR TOTAL PACT FORCES IN NGA (838,000) WAS ALMOST IDENTICAL TO 834,000 IN US PAPER OF 30 APRIL. HE ASKED MILCOM REP IF 838,000 FIGURE WAS FOR END OF 1971. MILCOM REP STATED THAT WG HAD NO FIGHT WITH US ON DATA, KNEW THAT FIGURES ON PACT WERE INCREASING, AND THAT WG WAS CLOSE TO AGREEMENT. HE FORESAW NO GREAT PROBLEM IN GETTING WG AGREEMENT TO HIGHER FIGURES, PROBABLY WITH 24 HOURS. HE SAID THAT DATA ON PACT FOR MOST PART WAS END 1971. (COMMENT: WG PAPER INDICATES DATA WAS END 1972 FOR NATO, MID-73 FOR PACT.) UK REP ASKED US REP IF DATA IN US PAPER OF 30 APRIL WAS ALSO END 1971. AT REQUEST OF US REP, CLARKE (US) RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD INQUIRE AND REPORT BACK, HE ELABORATED ON REASONS FOR CHANGES IN PACT FIGURES, NOTING THAT CHANGES RESULTED FROM BOTH ACTUAL CHANGE IN PACT FORCES IN NGA AND REANALYSIS AND DEEPER INQUIRE INTO DATA ON SOVIET AND PACT FORCES IN SUPPORT ELEMENTS AS WELL AS IN MAJOR UNITS.

11. UK REP OBSERVED THAT IF 834,000 FIGURE FOR PACT FORCES WAS VALID FOR APRIL 1973, THEN THIS COULD INDICATE THAT PACT HAD INCREASED FORCES IN NGA BY ABOUT 90,000 IN LAST SIX MONTHS, ALTHOUGH HE NOTED THAT THIS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE TRUE IN LIGHT OF WHAT CLARKE HAD JUST STATED. HE THEN ASKED IF US COULD ESTIMATE HOW MUCH OF INCREASE IN ESTIMATE OF PACT FORCES SINCE APRIL PAPER WAS ACTUALLY DUE TO BUILDUP OF PACT FORCES FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. CLARKE, DRAWING ON MEMORANDUM IN STATE 207385, EXPRESSED VIEW THAT PROBABLY LESSER PART IF INCREASE WAS DUE TO ACTUAL PACT BUILDUP. HE DREW ATTENTION TO AHG TO MEMORANDUM (STATE 207385) WHICH SHOWED THAT NEW DATA RESULTED FROM BOTH INCREASE IN FORCES AND REANALYSIS. HE FURTHER STATED THAT INCREASE IN PACT FORCES HAD NOT BEGUN JUST SINCE APRIL, AND THAT US HAD BEEN ACCEPTING INTO ORDER OF BATTLE UNITS WHICH HAD BEEN ENTERING INTO NGA FOR LAST FEW YEARS. HE WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO ASCRIBE 90,000 INCREASE TO FORCES THAT HAD ARRIVED IN NGA IN LAST SIX MONTHS.

12. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) ASKED WHETHER US ESTIMATES WERE BASED ON FIVE SOVIET DIVISIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. CLARKE RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY.

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13. FRG REP NOTED THAT US DATA DID NOT INCLUDE FORCES IN HUNGARY AND ASKED IF US COULD SUPPLY SUCH DATA. US REP RESPONDED THAT

US WOULD SUPPLY THIS DATA.

14. THEMES FOR DEVELOPMENT: US REP PRESENTED A LIST OF THEMES REVISED TO REFLECT SUGGESTIONS MADE AT LAST MEETING. SEPARATION OF ONE AND COMBINATION OF OTHERS CREATED NEW LIST OF NINE. US REP ADVANCED TANTATIVE SUGGESTION FOR ALLOCATION OF THEMES FOR DRAFTING AND PRESENTATION ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: 1. UNDIMINISHED SECURITY -- NETHERLANDS; 2. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT INTERESTS OF OTHERS -- A NORTHER FLANK COUNTRY; 3. INTERESTS OF FLANKS -- A SOUTHER FLANK COUNTRY; 4. AREA AND DISPARITIES -- U.K.; 5. FORCE ELEMENTS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN AND FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES -- CANADA; 6. PARITY, COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE -- FRG; 7. PHASING AND FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES -- U. S.; 8. STABILIZING MEASURES -- LUXEMBOURG; 9. VERIFICATION AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION -- BELGIUM.

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LIMDIS/MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

15. UK REP EXPRESSED SOME RESERVATION AS TO ORDER AMONG FIXT SIX ITEMS, SAYING HE PROPOSED TO STUDY THEM BEFORE MAKING FINAL COMMENT. FRG REP FELT NEW LISTING WAS A CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT. ACTING BELGIUM REP QUESTIONED WHETHER VERIFICATION AND NON-

CIRCUMVENTION OUGHT NOT TO BE ADDRESSED BEFORE PARITY, PHASING, AND FOCUS ON US/SOVIET FORCES. US REP RESPONDED THAT PLACEMENT AT END OF LIST DID NOT REPRESENT ANY LACK OF INTEREST, BUT WAS INTENDED TO FOLLOW LOGIC OF SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS IN WHICH ONE WOULD FIRST ADDRESS A PROPOSAL FOR REDUCTION AND THEN TALK ABOUT HOW TO VERIFY IT. CANADIAN REP ADDED THAT IT WAS USEFUL TO LEAVE THIS ITEM TO THE END SINCE THERE WAS STILL AN ON-GOING DISCUSSION OF PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES IN BRUSSELS.

16. LIST WAS TENTATIVELY AGREED BY AD HOC GROUP WITH ORDER OF ITEMS 2 AND 3 REVERSED.

17. AS TO ALLOCATION OF WORK, U.K., NETHERLANDS, CANADA, FRG, AND BELGIUM ACCEPTED SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENTS. ITALIAN ACTING
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REP (ITALIAN) WELCOMED FACT THAT FLANK COUNTRIES WOULD BE INCLUDED IN LIST OF SPEAKERS AND SAID HE WOULD CONSULT HIS AUTHORITIES. DUTCH REP (QUARLES) REFERRED TO POINT 6 OF MAY PROCEDURES PAPER (RIGHT OF FLANK COUNTRIES TO SPEAK ON SUBJECT MATTER OF CONCERN TO THEM) AND SAID THAT THE SUBJECTS CHOSEN WERE ITEMS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO FLANKS AND IT SEEMED ADVISABLE FOR FLANK COUNTRIES TO SPEAK ON THEM. NORWEGIAN DEPREP (VAERNO) SAID HE WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN HAVING FLANK COUNTRIES COMMENTING ON THESE POINTS AND WOULD REPORT TO OSLO. GREEK REP (DOUNTAS) SAID HE WOULD CONSULT HIS AUTHORITIES. TURKISH AND DANISH REPS ALSO INDICATED THEY WOULD REPORT TO AUTHORITIES. US REP SUGGESTED THAT WHEN FLANK COUNTRIES HAD CONSULTED THEIR AUTHORITIES THEY MIGHT MEET SEPARATELY TO ALLOCATE ASSIGNMENTS AMONG THEMSELVES. AD HOC GROUP AGREED.

18. CANADIAN REP ASKED WHETHER GROUP WOULD FOLLOW PRACTICE OF PRELIMINARY TALKS WHERE THE SAME COUNTRIES WHICH MADE INITIAL PRESENTATIONS REMAINED RESPONSIBLE FOR RESPONSES TO POSSIBLE EASTERN REBUTTALS. US REP REPLIED THAT SUCH A DECISION MIGHT BE PREMATURE AND THAT JUDGMENT ABOUT WHO SHOULD RESPOND MIGHT BETTER BE LEFT UNTIL AFTER EASTERN POSITIONS HAD BEEN HEARD AND SPECIFIC QUESTIONS HAD ARISEN. UK REP AGREED, NOTING THAT THERE WOULD IN ANY CASE BE OVERLAP AND DUPLICATION AMONG PRESENTATIONS

OF MAJOR THEMES AND THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO LEAVE THE QUESTION OF WHO SHOULD REPLY TO THE ACTUAL EVENT. FRG REP SUPPORTED US AND UK REPS. GREEK REP AGREED AND SUGGESTED THAT ON FLANK-RELATED ISSUES IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR REBUTTALS TO COME FROM NON-FLANK COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO STRESS THE COLLECTIVE NATURE OF WESTERN DEFENSE.

19. ON THE QUESTION OF HAVING THE EC ISSUE RAISED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEMES, BELGIUM ACTING REP POSED TWO QUESTIONS WHICH HE THOUGHT MERITED FURTHER CONSIDERATION AND ON WHICH HE DID NOT

FOR THE MOMENT HAVE FIRM VIEWS. WILLOT THOUGHT IT APPROPRIATE
TO MENTION EUROPEAN UNITY IN OPENING STATEMENTS WHICH REFLECTED
NATIONAL POINTS OF VIEW. HE THOUGHT THE GROUP SHOULD CONSIDER
FURTHER WHETHER IT WAS DESIRABLE TO REPEAT THIS POINT IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THEMES WHEN THE SPEAKERS WOULD BE ADDRESSING THE
CONFERENCE ON BEHALF OF ALL THE ALLIES. SECONDLY, WILLOT QUESTIONED
WHETHER, IF THE IDEA OF NON-ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD
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INTERFERE WITH EUROPEAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WAS TO BE REPEATED,
IT SHOULD BE DONE UNDER A RUBRIC DEALING WITH THE INTERESTS OF
THIRD PARTIES. THE EC MEMBERS WERE IN FACT PARTICIPANTS. IT
MIGHT, HE SUGGESTED, BE MORE APPROPRIATE TO CONSIDER THE POINT
UNDER THE "UNDIMINISHED SECURITY" RUBRIC.

20. GROUP AGREED TENTATIVELY TO ACCEPT THEMES AND ASSIGNMENTS
AS PROPOSED BY US (EXCEPT FOR REVERSAL OF 2 AND 3).

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LIMDIS/MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

21. THEMES PAPER: US REP PORPOSED THAT AD HOC GROUP DISCUSS CONCEPTUAL CONTENTS OF AMERICAN DRAFT BUT NOT ATTEMPT WORD-BY-WORD RIVISION; DISCUSSION WOULD BE TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE TO DELEGATIONS WHICH WOULD BE PREPARING TEXTS FO PRESENTATIONS ON THEMES.

22. UK REP FELT THAT DRAFT USED WORD "BALANCED" TOO OFTEN AND THERE WAS NO POINT IN TRYING TO THRUST IT UPON THE WARSAW PACT. UK REP ALSO FELT THAT PAPER SHOULD BE SHARPER IN DEVELOPING THE PROPOSITION THAT UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES REQUIRED AN ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTION. BELBIAN ACTING REP SAID HE FELT FIRST SECTION OF US PAPER WAS TOO CENTERED ON REDUCTIONS IN ITS DISCUSSION OF "BALANCED" AND THAT A LITTLE MORE SHOULD BE ADDED ABOUT OTHER MEASURES - VERIFICATION, STABILIZING MEASURES, NON-CIRCUMVENTION - WHICH ALSO SHOULD CONTRIBUTE T "BALANCED" BY COMPENSATING FOR CERTAIN ASYMMETRIES.

23. GREEK REP THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF DRAFTS WOULD FRM TIME TO TIME REFER TO ALL 19 PARTICIPANTS IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE
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FLANK AGREEMENT AND INTEREST IN POINTS ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY. BELGIAN ACTING REP CAUTIONED THAT IT MIGHT BE UNWISE TO BE TOO METICULOUS IN COUNTING THE PARTICIPANTS BECAUSE FAILURE TO BE ABSOLUTELY SPECIFIC LATER MIGHT UNINTENTIONALYY IMPLY EXCLUSION OF FLANKS.

24. DUTCH REP NOTED THAT AMERICAN DRAFT PICKED UP FROM FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF PREPARATORY TALKS PASSAGE ON SCOPE AND TIMING AS REFLECTING SUBSTANCE OF CONCEPT OF "BALANCED". HE THOUGHT THAT ANOTHER PASSAGE REFERRING TO THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF CONTRIBUTING TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP SHOULD ALSO BE CITED AS AN EXPRESSION OF WESTER DESIRES.

25. US DEPREP POINTED OUT THAT SECOND SECTION OF US PAPER AS DRAFTED COVERED MAINLY QUESTIONS OF FLANK CONCERN AND THAT NEW LIST OF THEMES WOULD REQUIRE PREPARATION OF A BRIEF ADDITIONAL TEXT ON "TAKING INTO ACCOUNT INTERESTS OF OTHERS". HE NOTED THAT SOME MATERIAL WAS ABAILABLE IN THE PRESS PAPERS WHICH HAD BEEN REVIEWED BY THE AD HOC GROUP. NOTING THAT THIS SECTION WAS DESIGNED TO MEET THE CONTINGENCY OF POSSIBLE WARSAW PACT EFFORTS TO ENLARGE THE FORUM, DUTCH REP (QUARLES) RECALLED THAT HE HAD ASKED ABOUT EASTERN INTENTIONS IN THIS REGARD WHEN HE VISITED WARSAW A FEW WEEKS AGO. POLISH REPLY WAS THAT THIS WOULD DEPEND ON HOW FAR THE EAST COULD RESIST PRESSURES FROM ROMANIA. HE THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE TO HAVE SUCH A SECTION IN THE THEMES.

26.AD HOC GROUP AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF THEMES AT
NEXT SESSION. HUMES

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